



Faculty of Social Sciences

**The Institutional ineffectiveness in Disarmament, Demobilization and
Reintegration of Youth Combatant in Niger Delta part of Nigeria**

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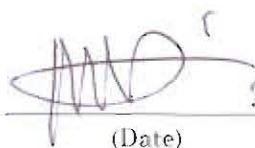
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The Institutional Ineffectiveness in Disarmament, Demobilization and
Reintegration of Youth Combatant in Niger Delta Part of Nigeria

Ayandegi Lateef Akanbi

A thesis submitted

In fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

(Political Studies)

Faculty of Social Sciences
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2018

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ABSTRACT

The Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) is a strategy programme designed purposely to re-orienting the former youth combatants into normal civilian lives including children, youths and adult involved in any form of violent conflict according to the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP). The youths that involved in the conflict need to be re-oriented into normal civilian status. The Amnesty Programme in the Niger Delta part of Nigeria adopted DDR programme, similarly, to what it has been apply to any war affected areas and nations as a strategy to transfer the militants into the civilian status and be productive positively instead of being the agent of destruction. Despite the implementation of DDR as part of the post-conflict peace building process in the Amnesty programme, the Niger Delta violent conflict remains unabated. The impacts of institutions such as Amnesty Operational Framework, family structure, socio-economy structure, religious system, education, and community participation in the reintegration of the youth militants in the Niger Delta are largely ignored in most studies. This study examines the appropriateness, capacity, and capabilities of the institutions that are responsible including the operational framework of Amnesty programme for the reintegration of the youth militant into normal civilian. The Frustration-Aggression and Anomies theories approach were adopted to provide the in-depth explanations on the factors fuelling the crisis in Niger Delta of Nigeria. The study is conducted in Delta State and Bayelsa State of Nigeria as the core centre of the Niger Delta and as the operational base of the youth militants as well as being the hub cities of the multinational oil companies. These areas surrounded by the Lakes and Ocean that give the youth militants the advantages of escaping through the water after their nefarious operations. Qualitative and Survey methods of data collection were used to obtain the data from the stakeholders in the conflict. The methods include the in-depth interviews of 24 key informants, 12 focus group discussions, non-participant observation, 250 administered survey questionnaires and the descriptive statistics is adopted for the data analysis. Ninety per cent of the ex-youth combatants that attended the Amnesty programme have returned into their heinous operation activities while the region still

witnesses increasingly cases of insecurity of lives and property. However, the Western approach in the designing of the operational framework of the programme made it difficult to reflect the basic needs of these youth combatants. The Niger Delta still witness cases of robbery, burglary, vandalization of oil installations, piracy and other anti-social acts while substantive numbers of youths still roaming the streets of the cities without any tangible means to survive, which it is an indication that the DDR of Amnesty programme in the Niger Delta is still under-achieved. The findings indicated that the institutions that responsible for the reintegration of youth militants need to be identified and considered with their capacity and the capabilities in the operational framework of Amnesty programme for the effectiveness of DDR Programme in order to prevent the youth militants to return to their heinous activities. Recommendations include empowerment and strengthening the institutions to enable them to perform their roles effectively.

Keywords: disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, youth combatants, institutions.

Cabaran Institusi dalam Perlucutan Senjata, Demobilisasi dan Reintegrasi Para Penjuang Belia di Bahagian Delta-Niger Nigeria

ABSTRAK

Pelucutan senjata, demobilisasi dan integrasi semula (DDR) adalah program strategi yang direka khusus untuk mengorientasikan semula bekas pejuang ke dalam kehidupan awam termasuk kanak-kanak, belia dan dewasa yang terlibat dalam apa-apa bentuk konflik ganas mengikut Program Pembangunan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu (UNDP). Golongan belia yang terlibat dalam konflik ganas ini perlu diorientasikan semula ke status awam. Program Amnesty di Delta-Niger yang merupakan sebahagian daripada Nigeria menerima pakai program DDR yang telah digunakan dalam mana-mana kawasan dan negara terjejas perang sebagai strategi untuk memindahkan pejuang golongan belia ke dalam masyarakat awam dan menjadi produktif secara positif dan bukannya menjadi ejen kemusnahan. Walaupun terdapat pelaksanaan DDR sebagai sebahagian daripada proses pembinaan pasca konflik dalam program Amnesty tersebut namun konflik ganas Delta-Niger kekal tanpa henti. Di dalam kebanyakan kajian, kesan institusi untuk integrasi semula para pejuang belia di Delta-Niger sebahagian besarnya diabaikan. Kajian ini mengkaji kesesuaian, kapasiti dan keupayaan institusi yang terlibat dalam rangka kerja operasi program Amnesty bagi integrasi semula pejuang belia ke dalam masyarakat awam. Teori Frustration-Aggression and Anomies digunapakai untuk memberi penjelasan yang lebih mendalam mengenai faktor-faktor penyebab krisis di Delta-Niger, Nigeria. Kajian ini telah dijalankan di Delta State dan Bayelsa State, Nigeria sebagai pusat utama Delta-Niger dan tempat operasi pejuang belia. Tempat ini juga merupakan pusat utama beberapa syarikat minyak multinasional dan kawasan-kawasan ini juga dikelilingi oleh tasik dan laut yang memberi kelebihan kepada pejuang belia untuk melarikan diri melalui laluan air selepas aktiviti ganas mereka. Kaedah kualitatif dan survei telah digunakan untuk mendapatkan data dari pihak yang berkepentingan, dalam konflik itu. Kaedah tersebut termasuklah temu bual 24 informan utama, 12 perbincangan berkelompok,

pemerhatian bukan-peserta dan 250 soal selidik yang terkawal serta analisis data secara statistik deskriptif digunakan. Sembilan puluh peratus daripada bekas pejuang belia yang menghadiri program Amnesty telah kembali semula kepada aktiviti anti-sosial mereka dan wilayah itu ini masih menyaksikan peningkatan kes ancaman kepada nyawa dan harta benda. Walau bagaimanapun, pendekatan Barat dalam bentuk rangka kerja operasi program menyukarkan pemaparan keperluan asas pejuang belia ini. Delta-Niger ini masih menyaksikan kes-kes rompakan, pecah rumah, vandalisme terhadap infrastruktur minyak, aktiviti perlanunan dan perbuatan anti-sosial yang lain manakala jumlah belia yang masih berkelaran di jalan-jalan di bandar-bandar di Delta-Niger tanpa tujuan hidup merupakan petunjuk bahawa program Amnesty DDR di Delta- Niger masih tidak berjaya. Dapatan menunjukkan, institusi dalam Delta-Niger perlu diambilkira dalam program integrasi semula pejuang terutama kemampuan dan kapasiti rangka kerja operasi program Amnesty supaya program DDR menjadi lebih efektif dalam menyekat pejuang belia daripada kembali meneruskan aktiviti ganas mereka. Antara cadangan termasuklah pemberdayaan dan pengukohan institusi lokal supaya dapat melaksanakan peranan mereka dengan lebih efektif.

Kata kunci: *pelucutan senjata, demobilisasi, integrasi semula, pejuang belia, institusi.*

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ABBREVIATIONS

CAW	Children Associated with the War
CBO	Community Based Organization
CPA	Child Protection Agency
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSR	Corporate Services Responsibility
CDF	Community Defence Force
CDD	Community Driven Development
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FTR	Family Tracing and Reunification
HIV/AID	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquire Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ICC	Interim Care Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IRB	Institutional Review Board
JTF	Joint Task Force
MDRP	Multi-country Demobilization and Reintegration Programme
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MNDA	Ministry of Niger Delta
NCDDR	National Commission for Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration
NCRRR	National Commission for Reintegration, Rehabilitation, Resettlement
NDPVF	Niger Delta People Volunteer Force
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization

NNDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
PAL	Participatory Action and Learning
PDO	Pre-Discharge Orientation
PTSD	Post-Trauma Stress Disorder
SALW	Small and Light Weapons
SSR	Security Sector Reform
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
TCC	Technical Co-coordinating Committee
TEP	Training and Employment Programme
IDDRS	Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration Standard
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDPK	United Nations Department for Peacekeeping Operations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNSRSG	United Nations Special Representative to the Secretary General
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Conflict is an endemic feature for most of the societies in the world for years and one of the most sensitive tasks confronting humanity today irrespective of religious affiliation – traditional, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, or political inclination - democratic or undemocratic and economically - developed or undeveloped. Almost all the countries in the world have experienced one form of conflict or the other, sometimes in the past and some are still experiencing it. Conflict is the source of destruction to some nations and the degree and variation of the consequences depends on the internal management's capacity and capability of the affected nation.

The United States of America (USA), the self-acclaimed model of democracy had experienced several conflicts, internally and externally starting from the war of independence in 1776 to the present. European countries like Germany, Greece, France, Spain and United Kingdom are not excluded from this global phenomenon. The great old empires in Africa like Benin, Borno, Ghana, Mali, Songhahi, Oyo and Ibadan faced conflicts and fought wars to establish themselves as prominent states both in savannah and in the forest region (Fage, 1699; Stride and Ifeka, 1973). The implications and consequences of such violence conflicts are not only limited to the political arena but cut across the economic and social sphere. The violent conflict destroys political structures and cripple's national economies, high rate of deaths, causes inflation, unemployment, and poverty. It ruins human resources that would have been use for development as well as provision for basic services in the affected nation. Violent conflict destroys existing social structure, morally, unity, ruins and maims person, destabilizes

relationships, dehumanizes and humiliates people, brutalizes human psyche, destroy precious family togetherness and thwarts overall development (Udofia, 2011).

Each conflict is unique and has its own characteristics (Wallenstein, 2002). Naturally, differences in human perception, ideology, or worldview would inevitably trigger the conflict. In view of this, there is a notion that as far as human being exists there will be and always be a conflict. However, the prominent and concerned issue is not about the violent conflict occurrence, but how the parties involve attempt to deal with it (Boulding, 1977). One of the most sensitive tasks confronting humankind today is the maintenance of international peace and security. The twentieth century witnessed two world wars and other local conflicts, claimed the lives of millions of people. Unfortunately, despite the consequences and damages caused by these wars, many nations and communities still beats the drums of war while others still experiencing it. This gives the notion that as far as people existing, there is no permanent remedy to this enemy of humanity.

Table1.1: Geographical Distribution of Violent Conflicts in 2015

Region	Number of Countries	Number of Conflicts in region	Number of Countries hosting conflict	Countries hosting conflict (%)	World Conflicts (%)
Africa	51	10	11	24	41
Asia	42	9	6	15	31
Europe	42	3	3	5	7
Americas	44	2	1	2	3
Middle.East	14	5	5	35	17
Total	193	29	26	13	100

Source: Ploughshare, 2015, Armed Conflict Reports.

Table 1.1 indicates that conflict is universal and cut-across the nations irrespective of the region and status. The causes of all these violent conflicts are numerous and many authors have posited it but, it depends on the context, issues, society and stakeholder's positions, interest, and needs (Cuny, 1991, Brown, 1996, Adeyemo, 2000, Albert, 2001 and Nwolise, 2004).

Irrespective of the arrangement made under the League of Nations, which obviously failed, and the present arrangement under the United Nations (UN), wars and conflicts remain scourge. In addition, all the continents of the world had witness while some nations still experiencing the consequence of the violent conflicts despite the activities and efforts of the international communities to make the world at peace. It is notable that, present day's violent conflicts have changed in nature and pattern where most of them are neither between states nor between clearly identifiable armies with a clearly defined battle front, rather, today's conflict are mainly internal in nature, which is of religious or ethnic in characters and involving unusual violence and cruelty. The consequences of today's violent conflict have great effects on the civilians especially women and youths directly or indirectly and this has been aggravated by the nature of today's violent conflict which is intra-national conflict.

The present or modern time wars are primarily internally, where internal and international rules of war is totally being ignored. In the past, the Rules of Engagement is highly observed and respected. The present day's conflicts are no longer aim at defeating the opponent armies or rebels but rather inflicting pains, humiliation and destruction as well as maiming and killing. Despites several strategies to curbs the spreads of this enemy of humanity (war), it is unfortunate that this phenomenon remain unabated and cut across the religion, economy, and social sphere. The multi-dimensional causes of violent conflicts and their associated consequences cut across modern nation-states. Indeed, industrialized countries as well as developing and the newly industrializing countries face the same pressure of ethnic fragmentation arising from structural changes in their economies and political system. Young (1983: 657) stated that:

Whether we are considering the post-industrial welfare states of the world, the states socialism of the second, or the developmental status core of the third, the trend to state determination of the resources distribution is similar. In turn, this trends makes the issues of domination more momentous: the cultural groups that are prominent within the state apparatus are positioned to assure that the needs and interest of their communities are forwarded, and to impose their hegemony on others.

In the process and an attempt to change the status quo, the perceived suppressed or marginalized groups resort to violence conflict as the means of effecting the change. This has been witnesses and demonstrated in several parts of the world including Africa, Asia, Europe, Middle East and South America. Imperialism and colonialism with its defective structural legacies, especially the divide-and-rule policies of colonialists helped to worsen the situation by producing over-polarized societies in the name of nation-states. Jinadu (2003: 5) stated that:

In many instances, the political economy of colonial rule placed the ethnics group into polarizing compartments base on their paternalistic and subjective perception or of missionaries traders, explorers, and colonial anthropologists who favoured some ethnics groups while other groups at the disadvantaged and sowed the seeds of post-colonial conflicts and internal wars.

This artificial creation (nations-states) led to serious ethnic problems as they raise vexing issues of injustice, inequity, minority rights, loyalty, citizenship, intolerance, freedom self-determination and autonomy and its manipulation to serve their particular interest by competing hegemonic ethnic groups.

In Africa, from late 1980 to 2010 over 17 violent conflicts were identified as ethnic based. There were some examples like Eritrea seceded from Ethiopia after several years of conflict among the Oromo, Amhara and Ogademan ethnic groups; in Djibouti, the Afars and Issars ethic groups were also in

conflict; in Somalia there was also violence conflict between Tutsi and Hutu; in Cameroun, the Beti ethnic also had conflict with other ethnic groups for control of power; in Cote d'voire Boule and non-Agni groups; in Zaire, it was between Nghandi of the West and other ethnic groups of the East. In Nigeria, there was also war of secession in Southeast of Nigeria (Nnoli, 1978). All these conflicts gave rise to the assertion by scholars that, the ethnic violence conflicts are perhaps the most prominent threats to the nation-states and international peace and security. In most of these conflicts, youth has been identified as prominent stakeholders in the intra state armed conflicts in Africa, even not limited to Africa as a continent alone, across the globe in the post-Cold War era.

In Africa, large numbers of youth combatants are found in the heart of modern warfare, in Angola, youth under the age of eighteen comprised 52 per cent of the population while 3,000 youths were involved as combatants in the conflict (Machel, 2001: 19). In Mozambique, the youth involved in the violent conflict was estimated between 8,000 and 10,000 (Honwana, 1999: 6). The youth were tags as the perfect weapons operators in the violent conflict, easily manipulated, intensely loyal and fearless (Daily Trust, 2007: 28). In Somalia, within the month of April 2007, more than 1,000 people killed in Mogadishu, the capital city of Somalia, in a complex civil war compounded by warlords who command armies of youths.

In West Africa, the use of youth as a militant in the violent conflict dated back to the beginning of Liberian violent conflict in 1989. Taylor's NPFL (National Patriotic Front of Liberia) that became infamous for the abduction and use of youth including boys and girls as combatants in the war, a tactics later adopted by other Liberian fighting factions as well as other fighting groups in West Africa and beyond. Between 6,000 and 15,000 youths were estimated to have been taken up arms from 1989 to 1997 (Human Rights Watch in Africa, 1994:2). The Sierra Leone War was known for having the worst record of using youth in violent conflict. It was recorded that about 50 per cent of the population of fighters are under 18 years old and more than 10,000 youths served as combatants for the various fighting factions (Kelly, 1998: 39). Similarly, the Boko Haram crisis in Northern part of Nigeria, the